of the latter with quite literal accuracy. Often the chief speaks in a voice hardly above a whisper, while the speaker is expected to make himself heard by all, and to provide proper emphasis to what is being said. The herald, on the other hand, is largely a messenger who shouts out the orders and advice of the chief as he rides about the village or camp. He is not held to a literal presentation of the chief's words, but is expected to express the general thought freely and effectively.

In parts of the Plateau the spokesman performs the duties of the typical herald in addition to serving as a repeater. This is true among the Tenino, Umatilla, Nez Percé,[22] Coeur d'Alêne, Kalispel, Southern Okanogan, and Sanpoil. Among the last two, at least, formal haranguing is a performance of the spokesman-herald in his own right.

Women occupy seats in council or assembly among a number of central Plateau groups, and in some cases they are eligible to chieftainship. Female chiefs are known to the Southern Okanogan, Lakes, and possibly the Coeur d'Alêne. They may have been present in other groups, although most informants deny it today. The Lakes declare that no greater or more capable chief has even been known to them than a particular woman who held office fairly recently. It is quite clear that female chieftainship is here a simple outgrowth of the principle of political and sexual equality.[23]

The Shuswap, Lower Thompson, and Carrier occasionally recognize female chiefs as well, but here the implications are quite different. A woman is accepted only for the sake of perpetuating a particular lineage in the absence of a male successor.[24] The coastal origin of this practice is obvious.

SOCIAL STRATIFICATION

Class and Rank

Peoples of the Plateau have remained impressively unreceptive to the notions of caste which are so strongly emphasized on the Coast. The only tribes in any way influenced are those in direct contact along the boundary of the two areas. The Plateau attitude is not one of passive disregard; on the contrary, the opposite principle, that of equality of man, is given active and emotional support.

The Sanpoil are among the most outspoken in this respect. To them

[22] Spinden, *Nez Percé Indians*, p. 243.

[23] Cline, *Southern Okanagon*, pp. 95 f.; Teit, *Salishan Tribes*, p. 154.

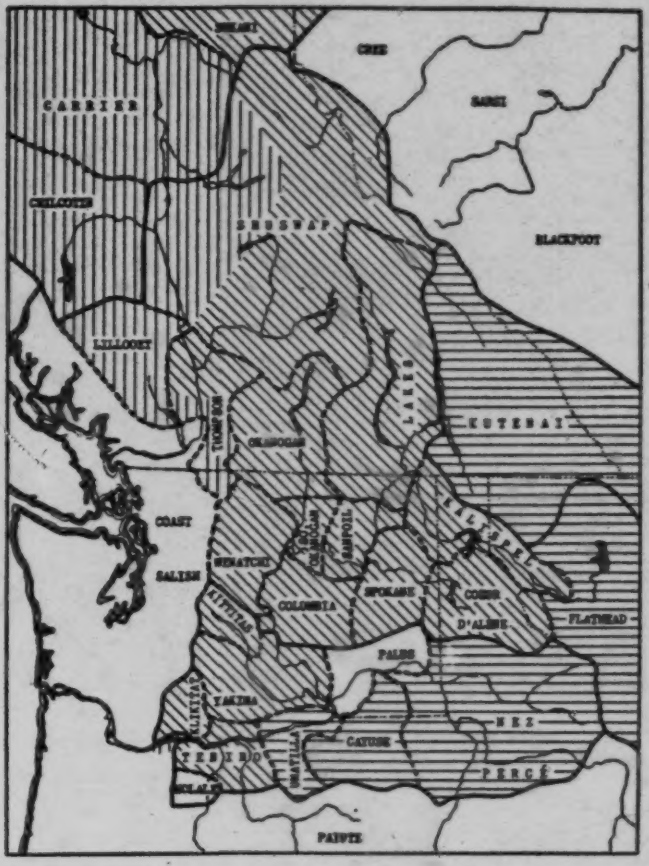
[24] Teit, *Shuswap*, p. 582; Morice, *Canadian Dénés*, p. 202.

1: Ray E-5 (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

183
554
555
567
829

[102]
[554]

class distinctions are unthinkable, to say nothing of slavery. The latter is looked upon as an unaccountable custom of foreigners. Every adult citizen—man or woman—is a member of the general assembly of his village. When it becomes necessary to select a chief from a new



MAP 4. Class and rank. *Vertical hatching:* modified coastal pattern; *diagonal hatching:* no stratification; *horizontal hatching:* ranking according to war honors.

lineage, any man is eligible. The selection is made without regard to any quality suggestive of class. The chief is in no way set apart socially; he is as approachable as any man in the group. Nor does wealth carry any suggestion of advance in status. Indeed, wealth is rare. Only sha-

[556]

1: Ray E-5 (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

183
554
555
556
829
476

mans can properly be counted rich men and whatever prestige they possess is the result of their unusual supernatural powers, not their riches. The scarcity of wealth is to a marked degree the result of the belief in the equality of mankind. No justification can be found for one man having more than another, but every man is deserving of a living. Salmon is the staple food; the huge catches of this fish taken each summer at the great fish weirs are divided equally among all present, foreigners included. A man need take no part in the fishing activities to be entitled to a share in the daily distributions. Likewise the meat obtained on a hunting expedition is divided equally among all those who take part regardless of what members actually killed the game. But reward for individual initiative is not lacking. Participation in the activities of weir fishing carries distinct honors. More materially, salmon taken with a spear is the property of the individual spearman (but every man is given his turn on the fishing platform). And game taken by the individual hunter is his property. Women always retain the products of their individual labors at berry picking or root gathering. Yet it is never necessary for a person to go hungry if there is food in the village. A single meal or a whole winter's lodging and meals is never denied a man.

In the quest for supernatural power equality also plays its role. This activity is open equally to every man and every woman, not to only a privileged few as on parts of the Coast. Very few men fail to achieve at least one guardian spirit.[35]

A pointed statement by Alexander Ross indicates that similar conditions and attitudes characterized the Southern Okanogan in earlier times. "Their general maxim is, that Indians were born to be free, and that no man has a natural right to the obedience of another, except he be rich in horses and has many wives."[36] The last phrase is ambiguous: it may indicate that chiefs here were richer than the average man. Slavery is utterly unknown; class concepts are completely absent.[37]

177
183
554
567

The Kalispel, Lakes, Spokane, and Wenatchi participate in this strong emphasis on equality, though perhaps not to the same degree as the Sanpoil and Southern Okanogan. Among all other non-peripheral groups social equality is the distinct rule for freemen, but slaves make their appearance in small numbers. On the south and west, coastal

[35] Ray, *Sanpoil and Nespelem*, pp. 25 f.
[36] Ross, *Adventures*, p. 292.
[37] Cline, *Southern Okanogan*, pp. 87, 98.

1: Ray E-5 (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

565 ship. Among the Umatilla, for example, one's coup record is all-important in achieving chiefly status. Aside from this, coup ranking appears more honorific than functional. The Flathead in earlier days permitted distinguished warriors to join the council in ceremonial smoking as a mark of honor, but did not assign permanent membership on this basis.[45] This probably typifies a more widespread attitude.

183 554 829 Altogether it appears that emphasis upon equality, as exemplified by the Sanpoil, is a fundamental Plateau trait of long standing. It was not adopted as a defense against outside notions but existed as a basic cultural pattern when foreign ideas of class and rank first impinged upon the area. Superficial adoption of these ideas came at a late date and only along the borders. The most central and isolated groups maintain the older attitudes quite unimpaired.

Slavery

567 829 Certain attitudes and facts regarding slavery have been discussed above. The Sanpoil and Southern Okanogan lack slaves entirely and are outspoken in condemning the practice. Slaves are likewise absent among the Columbia and Lakes, and very nearly so among the Kalispel. This central region is encircled by a wide area in which slavery is present but of slight importance as an institution, and the numbers held are small. Only in the extreme northwestern Plateau (Carrier, Chilcotin, Lillooet?, Thompson) and among the Wishram and Klamath are slaves fairly numerous. The western position of these tribes makes it obvious that they are participating in coastal culture in this respect.

The Kalispel today deny that they have ever held slaves, but Teit states of the Coeur d'Alêne that several cases are remembered where local women were enslaved by the Kalispel and Flathead, but that in nearly all cases they were eventually returned home. The Spokane held no slaves in recent generations but may have had a certain number in earlier times. The Flathead, too, gave up slavery before it was outlawed by the whites.

> Long ago the only slaves were a few captives of war, consisting of young women, boys, and girls, who were adopted into the families to which they belonged, and were treated well. . . . In later times, it is said, there were no slaves of any kind, as the Flathead did not trade in slaves.[46]

567 Okanogan slaves are mainly young women made captive in war though

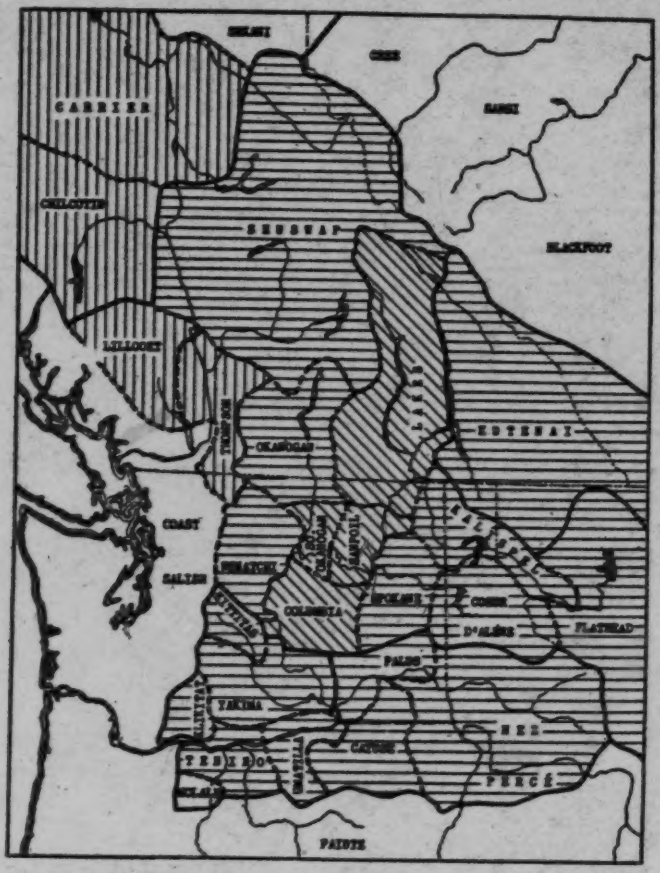
[45] Turney-High, *Flathead Indians*, p. 52.
[46] Teit, *Salishan Tribes*, pp. 158, 380.

1: Ray E-5 (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

a few are procured in trade. They are well treated and their children are seldom reminded of their parentage. 567

Slaves are somewhat more common among the Coeur d'Alêne. Teit records that some are purchased from other tribes but my infor-

102
567



MAP 5. Slavery. *Vertical hatching:* slaves numerous; *horizontal hatching:* slaves scarce; *diagonal hatching:* slavery absent.

mants denied this. However, if any are of Paiute origin, as Teit suggests, they are certainly purchased. Here, too, 567

slaves were kindly treated, and most people regarded them as affectionately as their own wives or children. When a slave boy died his owner has been

1: Ray E-5 . (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

567

known to show as much grief and weep as much over him as if he had been one of his own children. When a slave woman bore children to her master she became the same as a free member of the tribe.[47]

Slavery is but weakly developed among the Kutenai; all slaves are captives of war. They are not cruelly treated.[48]

Trading in slaves is practiced to a limited degree by the Thompson, but like their southern neighbors, most of the slaves held are captives.

When a captive woman bore children to her master, she was considered one of the tribe, and neither she nor her children were ever afterward called slaves, at least openly. Some captive children were treated well, and were even adopted into the family of their master, but other slaves were often treated cruelly.[49]

The Lower Thompson treat their slaves with even less consideration, and family adoption is unknown. Indeed, the children of slaves occupy like status; they are not free.

This new note of ill-treatment is characteristic of the Shuswap also. Here a slave is sometimes killed upon the death of his master, and buried with the latter. Trading in slaves is practiced to a moderate degree.[50] The lot of the slave is an unfortunate one among the Carrier, as well.

To the south, among the Wishram, somewhat similar conditions prevail. Although ordinarily well treated, the recalcitrant slave is dealt with severely; a runaway's feet are burned with a torch. A chief's personal slaves, at least, are killed upon the death of their master. A certain number of slaves are taken in war, but the majority are purchased, often to be resold. Trading in slaves is an important activity here at the great Dalles commercial center.[51]

In nearby Oregon the Tenino take quite a different attitude toward slavery. The institution is disapproved but tolerated. In late years the Klamath encouraged them to act as intermediaries in the slave trade between them and the Wishram.

The Klamath perhaps subject their slaves to less human treatment than any other Plateau tribe.

Their fate depends on their captors, who may elect to rear them as their own children. More commonly they are miserably treated, made to sleep with the dogs, fetch water, etc., and beaten if they are lazy.

[47] *Idem*, p. 158. [48] Chamberlain, *Kootenay Indians*, p. 185.
[49] Teit, *Thompson Indians*, p. 290. [50] Teit, *Shuswap*, pp. 536, 592.
[51] Spier and Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*, pp. 221–24.

1: Ray E-5 (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

567
D21

It is probable that those more kindly treated lived much the same life as any poor Klamath. Apparently they are not killed at funerals. Raids for the specific purpose of taking slaves are more prominent than among any other Plateau tribe, excepting perhaps the Carrier. Many of those taken are resold among the Tenino or at the Dalles. Considerable numbers are involved, both in local holdings and in trade.[52]

177
567

Almost all slaves either held or traded by Plateau peoples are of non-Plateau nativity, except in the extreme north. Teit makes the categorical assertion that "There were no interior Salish or Sahaptin people kept, bought, or sold as slaves, either at the Dalles or elsewhere."[53] In other statements, however, he modifies this; in the holdings of the Coeur d'Alêne "a very few slaves were from the Umatilla and other tribes to the south and southwest but they were generally bought back. . . . There are several cases of Coeur d'Alêne women having been made captive and enslaved by Kalispel and Pend d'Oreilles [Flathead]."[54] My own informants, Coeur d'Alêne, Umatilla, Kalispel, and Flathead alike, failed to corroborate these assertions. Of the Shuswap, Teit writes, "numerous slaves taken in war from the Lillooet were sold back to their friends."[55] The Lillooet, of course, are not wholly interior, geographically.

> The Shuswap and Upper Thompsons seldom captured slaves from each other; but when this did happen, they were taken back by force of arms, purchased by their friends, or, after some years, allowed to escape. Formerly there were many Lillooet slaves among the upper divisions of the [Thompson] tribe.[56]

Teit provides information suggesting that interior Salish are not uncommonly taken as slaves by the Sekani and Cree.[57]

In general, then, slaves held within the Plateau are extra-areal in origin; this is more consistently true in the south than in the north. Southern slaves are dominantly of Shoshonean affiliation; a secondary source is the Coast, especially the coast of Oregon. Most slaves from the Coast reach the Plateau via the Dalles market. The Klamath obtain the bulk of their slaves from northern California, particularly the Pit River area. As a consequence of trade many of these reach the Dalles

[52] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, pp. 27, 39–41.
[53] Teit, *Middle Columbia Salish*, p. 122.
[54] Teit, *Salishan Tribes*, p. 158.
[55] Teit, *Shuswap*, p. 536.
[56] Teit, *Thompson Indians*, p. 269.
[57] Teit, *Shuswap*, pp. 547, 551.

1: Ray E-5 (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

177
569

and become widely dispersed. In the north, most slaves come from the Coast, especially the Lower Fraser region. Quite a number are of Athabascan origin. Third in importance as a source are the Lillooet. Slaves held by the Athabascans are of local as well as outside origin. The Carrier alone make slaves of their own orphans. The Kutenai occasionally obtain a slave or two from the Lakes. To what extent the Salish hold Kutenai slaves is unknown.

The outside origin of Plateau slaves is directly correlated with friendliness within the area. Throughout the central region relations are so thoroughly harmonious that the taking of slaves is unthinkable. In the north this is true to a lesser but considerable degree. It does not at all apply to the Athabascans, or Athabascan relations with the Salish. Since slaves must come from the outside, those areas most accessible and least capable of defense are raided.

Several factors suggest that slavery is recent in the Plateau and atypical to it; or, if not recent, of minimal significance until recently. The Carrier and Sekani are excepted, as participating in quite another tradition. First, the distribution is significant: slavery is unknown to the most central region, and but meagerly developed in the remainder of the area except among those western tribes in close contact with the Coast. These groups not only give greater emphasis to slavery, but treat their slaves in a manner typical of the Coast. Slavery among other Plateau peoples is hardly deserving of the name considering the mild and even kindly treatment the subjects receive. The Shuswap are somewhat more severe than their southern neighbors, though the institution itself is not of great significance to them. This is consonant with their exposure to the Thompson, Chilcotin, and especially the Carrier.

The Wishram and Klamath are the most impressive slaveholders of the area. Yet Spier judges Klamath slavery to be largely a development subsequent to the acquisition of the horse.

> It is probable that the introduction of the horse stimulated predatory habits and made possible frequent trading visits to the Columbia river people. From them they adopted for themselves the practices of slave-holding on an enlarged scale and of measuring wealth in terms of slaves, and were encouraged to raid more frequently, and to carry their spoil to the river to exchange for the highly desired horses. Prior to the coming of the horse, we may suppose the very mild interest in holding captives found in any Basin or Californian tribe.[58]

[58] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, p. 40.

1: Ray E-5 (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

177
567

It is interesting to note that the Tenino, close by the Dalles, say that the Klamath encourage them to deal in slaves, whereas the Klamath themselves appear to have borrowed the trait from the Dalles.

WARFARE AND PACIFISM

181
721

General areal conditions of concordance and discordance are implicit in the discussions of the preceding section, but specific practices remain to be considered. Standing out boldly over all is the impressive emphasis upon pacifism which characterizes the central region. A very different picture is seen in the south, with intensive conflict as the theme. But the conflict is of the type associated with the Plains, from where it obviously was borrowed. Thus it is not typical of the Plateau. Among the interior Salish of Canada warfare is certainly not absent but no clear pattern emerges; the activities appear to be raids and feuds on a large scale.

Pacifism

The Sanpoil, at the geographical center of the Plateau, emphasize no other value in life more than pacifism, unless it be the fundamental equality of all men. Warfare is virtually unknown to them, and has been unknown from time immemorial. No living man can recount an instance of conflict even from traditional history. Warfare is occasionally mentioned in folk tales and mythology, but the scene is always far distant and the Sanpoil are not involved. There is no question but that the first duty of a chief is to maintain peaceful relations with all other peoples. Upon the slightest threat of warfare the chief calls the assembly together and pleads with the people to maintain neutrality at any cost. The virtues of pacifism are extolled and a strong appeal is made that a long record of peacefulness be not marred. When the Spokane were at war with the whites their chief attempted to persuade his close friend, the Sanpoil chief Kolaskin, to induce his people to join the conflict. Kolaskin was a man who thirsted for glory, but he and the Sanpoil paid no heed to the entreaties.[59]

The Southern Okanogan participate in this ideal of pacifism. Walters states that they "have evidently been a peaceful people for at least several centuries. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, Cox describes them as such. . . . The historical stories of battle obtained are of occurrences in a past so distant that the accounts have a mythological flavor."[60]

[59] Ray, *Sanpoil and Nespelem*, pp. 25–27, 114 f. [60] Cline, *Southern Okanagon*, pp. 79 f.

5: Bancroft H-4 (no date) 1883 Plateau

622 624 727 367 chiefs never collect taxes nor presume to interfere with the rights or actions of individuals or families.[176] Prisoners of war, not killed by torture, are made slaves, but they are few in number, and their children are adopted into the victorious tribe. Hereditary slavery and the slave-trade are unknown. The Shushwaps are said to have no slaves.[177]

58 In choosing a helpmate, or helpmates, for his bed and board, the inland native makes capacity for work the standard of female excellence, and having made a selection buys a wife from her parents by the payment of an amount of property, generally horses, which among the southern nations must be equaled by the girl's parents. Often a betrothal is made by parents while both

622 624 681 [176] The twelve Oakinack tribes 'form, as it were, so many states belonging to the same union, and are governed by petty chiefs.' The chieftainship descends from father to son; and though merely nominal in authority, the chief is rarely disobeyed. Property pays for all crimes. *Ross' Advn.*, pp. 289–94, 322–3, 327. The Chualpays are governed by the 'chief of the earth' and 'chief of the waters,' the latter having exclusive authority in the fishing-season. *Kane's Wand.*, pp. 309–13. The Nez Percés offered a Flathead the position of head chief, through admiration of his qualities. *De Smet, Voy.*, pp. 50, 171. Among the Kalispels the chief appoints his successor, or if he fails to do so, one is elected. *De Smet, Western Miss.*, p. 297. The Flathead war chief carries a long whip, decorated with scalps and feathers to enforce strict discipline. The principal chief is hereditary. *Cox's Adven.*, vol. i., pp. 241–2, vol. ii., p. 88. The 'camp chief' of the Flatheads as well as the war chief was chosen for his merits. *Ind. Life*, pp. 28–9. Among the Nez Percés and Wascos 'the form of government is patriarchal. They acknowledge the hereditary principle—blood generally decides who shall be the chief.' *Alvord*, in *Schoolcraft's Arch.*, vol. v., pp. 652–4. No regularly recognized chief among the Spokanes, but an intelligent and rich man often controls the tribe by his influence. *Wilkes' Nar.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. iv., pp. 475–6. 'The Salish can hardly be said to have any regular form of government.' *Hale's Ethnog.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. vi., pp. 207–8. Every winter the Cayuses go down to the Dalles to hold a council over the Chinooks 'to ascertain their misdemeanors and punish them therefor by whipping'! *Farnham's Trav.*, p. 81–2. Among the Salish 'criminals are sometimes punished by banishment from their tribe.' 'Fraternal union and the obedience to the chiefs are truly admirable.' *Domenech's Deserts*, vol. ii., pp. 343–4; *Hines' Voy.*, p. 157; *Stanley's Portraits*, p. 63; *Dunn's Oregon*, pp. 311–12; *White's Oregon*, p. 189; *Pickering's Races*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. ix., p. 108; *Joset*, in *Nouvelles Annales des Voy.*, tom. cxxiii, 1849, pp. 334–40.

[177] 'Slavery is common with all the tribes.' *Warre and Vavasour*, in *Martin's Hud. B.*, p. 83. Sahaptins always make slaves of prisoners of war. The Cayuses have many. *Alvord*, in *Schoolcraft's Arch.*, vol. v., p. 654; *Palmer's Jour.*, p. 56. Among the Okanagans 'there are but few slaves. . . . and these few are adopted as children, and treated in all respects as members of the family.' *Ross' Adven.*, p. 320. The inland tribes formerly practiced slavery, but long since abolished it. *Parker's Explor. Tour*, p. 247. 'Not practised in the interior.' *Mayne's B. C.*, p. 243. Not practiced by the Shushwaps. *Anderson*, in *Hist. Mag.*, vol. vii., p. 78.